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FREEDOM OF RELIGION

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Note: Internet sites included in this publication, other than those of the U.S. government, should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein.

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Freedom of religion is one of the fundamental principles of democracy. "All citizens should be free to follow their conscience in matters of religious faith. Freedom of religion includes the right to worship alone or with others, in public or private, and to participate in religious observance, practice, and teaching without fear of persecution from government or other groups in society," says a primer on the fundamentals of democracy produced by the Bureau of International Information Programs, Department of State.

In the early dawn of civilization, humans were more intelligent and creative than their primate ancestors, but in order to survive, they needed to form bonds with each other. Communities of these primitive humans began to evolve. As these communities were forming, their appreciation for each other, and the world around them began to grow. They began to turn their attention to the spirit of the person. Martha Nussbaum, prolific author and noted professor of law and ethics at the University of Chicago writes, "Religion helps people cope with loss and the fear of death; it teaches moral principles and motivates people to follow them."

The concept of religious freedom is relatively recent in mankind's history. There have been societies that permitted some deviation from state-sanctioned and enforced official religion, but such toleration depended upon the whim of the majority or ruler, and could be withdrawn as easily as it had been given. Religious freedom requires, above all else, the divorce of a nation's religious life from its political institutions, and this separation of church and state, as it is called, is also of relatively recent vintage.

Religion played a major role in the American Revolution by offering a moral sanction for opposition to the British -- an assurance to the average citizen that revolution was justified in the sight of God. The first two presidents of the United States were patrons of religion -- George Washington was an Episcopal vestryman, and John Adams described himself as "a church going animal." Both offered strong rhetorical support for religion. In his farewell address of September 1796, Washington called religion, as the source of morality, "a necessary spring of popular government," while Adams claimed that statesmen "may plan and speculate for liberty, but it is religion and morality alone, which can establish the principles upon which freedom can securely stand."

The founding fathers lived in an era where church and state were inseparable. The history of church and state being intertwined was deeply rooted in their thoughts and beliefs. The idea of separating them was a revolutionary one. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Mason, each had their own ideas of religious freedom. From their own words, there is an assumption that the government should not punish any individual for their religious beliefs, thoughts, or actions.

The United States, founded as colonies with explicitly religious aspirations, come to be the first modern state whose commitment to the separation of church and state was reflected in its constitution. To avoid discord in an increasingly pluralistic and contentious society, the Founding Fathers left the religious arena free of government intervention save for the guarantee of free exercise for all. Religious people and groups were also free to seek political influence, ensuring that religion's place in America would always be a contested one, but never a state-regulated one.

Freedom of religion is one of the key civil rights enshrined within the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. At the time of drafting the First Amendment, the intent of the framers was based on two theories on how the Constitution and the Bill of Rights was to be applied. They are intentional and interpretive. The intentionalists adhere to a strict interpretation of the literal meaning of the framers at the time of the writing of the Constitution. The interpretivists believe that there is space to interpret the meaning of the Constitution, and that the meaning and effect may change as time goes on to conform to society.

The U.S. Constitution has created a system in which each individual and religious group can enjoy the full freedom to worship, free not only from the rein of government but from pressures by other sects as well. This combination of religious diversity and religious freedom is a complex matter, and the path toward this ideal has not always been easy, nor is it free from conflict today.

"The United States is the most religiously diverse nation in the world," leading religious scholar Diana Eck writes in her guide to the religious realities of America today *New Religious America: How a Christian Country Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation*. She adds, "The religious landscape of America has changed radically in the past thirty years, but most of us have not yet begun to see the dimensions and scope of that change, so gradual has it been and yet so colossal. It began with the "new

immigration," spurred by the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, as people from all over the world came to America and have become citizens. With them have come the religious traditions of the world -- Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, Zoroastrian, African, and Afro-Caribbean. The people of these living traditions of faith have moved into American neighborhoods, tentatively at first, their altars and prayer rooms in storefronts and office buildings, basements and garages, recreation rooms and coat closets, nearly invisible to the rest of us.... Not all of us have seen the Toledo mosque or the Nashville temple, but we will see places like them, if we keep our eyes open, even in our own communities. They are the architectural signs of a new religious America.... Religious diversity is a fact; religious pluralism might be thought of as an attitude toward that fact.... Our first challenge in America today is simply to open our eyes to these changes, to discover America anew, and to explore the many ways in which the new immigration has changed the religious landscape of our cities and towns, our neighborhoods and schools."

The articles included in this section explain the role of religion in America: ancient and modern; freedom of religion; role of religion by immigrant groups; tolerance and liberalism of religion; and teaching religious diversity.

For additional information, a webliography is presented here for your use. However, the inclusion of Internet sites other than those of the U.S. government should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein. The websites are current as of date and are subject to change at any time.

American Jewish Historical Society
<http://www.ajhs.org/>

American Religion Data Archive
<http://www.thearda.com/>

The American Religious Experience
<http://are.as.wvu.edu/index.html>

American Religious History
<http://exchanges.state.gov/education/amstudy/ReligionCAS.pdf>

American Religious Identification Survey
http://www.gc.cuny.edu/studies/aris_index.htm

Americans Struggle with Religion's Role at Home and Abroad
<http://pewforum.org/publications/surveys/religion.pdf>

Amish History & Settlement in America
<http://pittsburgh.about.com/cs/pennsylvania/a/amish.htm>

Annual Report on International Religious Freedom -- U.S.
 Department of State
<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/>

Bush Administration Faith-Based and Community Initiative
<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/faith/>

Catholic.net
<http://www.catholic.net>

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon Church)
<http://www.lds.org/>

Council on American-Islamic Relations
<http://www.cair-net.org/default.asp>

Divining America: Religion and the National Culture
<http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/tserve/divam.htm>

For Goodness Sake: Why so Many Want Religion to Play a
 Greater Role in American Life
http://www.publicagenda.org/research/research_reports_details.cfm?list=25

Jehovah's Witnesses
<http://www.watchtower.org/>

Jewish American History on the Web
<http://www.jewish-history.com/Default.htm>

Links to Organizations and Web-sites Related to Religion and
 Politics and Contemporary Church-State Issues
http://www3.baylor.edu:80/Church_State/church-state_links.htm

Lists of the Largest Religious Groups in America
http://www.adherents.com/rel_USA.html

Muslim Life in America
<http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/muslimlife/>

An Overview on How Faith-Based and Community Organizations
 Can Partner with the Federal Government
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/government/fbci/guidance/index.html>

The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life
<http://pewforum.org/>

The Presbyterian Church in America
<http://www.pcanet.org/>

The Pluralism Project
<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~pluralism/>

Project MAPS: Muslims in American Public Square
<http://www.projectmaps.com/>

Religion & Ethics Newsweekly
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/>

Religion and the Founding of the American Republic
<http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/religion.html>

Religious Freedom as a Human Right
<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1101/ijde/ijde1101.htm>

The Religious Landscape of the United States
<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itsv/0397/ijse/ijse0397.htm>

Religious Liberty in the Modern Era
<http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/rightsof/modern.htm>

The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)
<http://www.quaker.org/>

The Roots of Religious Liberty
<http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/rightsof/roots.htm>

Separating Church and State: Freedom of Religion
<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/factover/ch8.htm>

Unitarian Universalist Association
<http://uua.org/>

Who Are the Mennonites?
<http://www.thirdway.com/menno/>

1. A COMMENTARY ON THE SUPREME COURT'S "EQUAL TREATMENT" DOCTRINE AS THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PARADIGM FOR PROTECTING RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

By Derek H. Davis. Journal of Church and State, Autumn 2004, pp. 717-737.

"Equality is a hallmark of American democracy, but it should not rule in every case. The Framers, recognizing the special place of religion in our lives, provided both special protection for religion and important limitations on government support of religion." Davis discusses the pros and cons that equal treatment might have on the elevated and protected status of religion in America. According to him, until recently, the U.S. Supreme Court's analysis of religion cases typically began with a review to determine if either the Establishment or Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment was implicated under the facts of the case. Only after the Court concluded its analysis and was assured that the religion clauses had not been violated did it proceed to determine whether other constitutional protections might have been breached. Many Americans herald the Court's decisions as major victories, believing that the "equal treatment" doctrine ends discrimination against religion and necessarily equates with greater religious liberty.

2. IN DEFENSE OF THE WORKPLACE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT: PROTECTING THE UNPROTECTED WITHOUT SANCTIFYING THE WORKPLACE

By James F. Morgan. Labor Law Journal, Spring 2005, pp. 68-81.

This article states a case in favor of the implementation of the Workplace Religious Freedom Act (WREA) of 2003, which protects employees' religious observance and practice in the U.S., presenting a minority view in terms of current commentary on the subject. The first section examines society's failure during past decades to provide religious employees with adequate legal protection. The U.S. Supreme Court rulings interpreting the statutory provisions appear to thwart the intent of Congress by severely restricting the rights of religious workers. Lower courts, struggling in recent years to follow Supreme Court edicts, have created a patchwork of decisions interpreting the rights of the religious employee. The sea change occurring at work today as employees become increasingly comfortable practicing their religious beliefs at work and as the religions brought to the workplace become more varied. Salient aspects of the WREA, which was drafted in part to deal with a more religious and a more

religiously diverse workplace, are then analyzed. The article concludes that a close examination of the WREA reveals that its provisions are well suited to offer needed protection for religious workers.

3. RELIGION AND THE WEST

By Peter L. Berger. National Interest, Summer 2005, pp. 112-119.

Berger expounds the role of religion in the context of Western European and American culture, especially in the current state of pluralism, modernity, and secularization. Among other things, he considers European politics as eschewing the sort of religiously tinged rhetoric that is common in America. Social trends do not occur in some inexorable way, independent of the ideas and actions of people. Modernity itself is not a force of nature, but is brought about by human beings thinking and acting in specific ways. It is not foreordained that modern societies must become secular. Whether they do or not depends on human agency-conscious choices by individual actors, sometimes by unintended consequences of these choices, by struggles for power and influence by mobilized individuals. Whether in America, Europe or the Middle East, there are choices to be made about the place of religion in society and in the state. For this reason it is important that alternate possibilities of choice be clearly understood.

4. RELIGION IN AMERICA: ANCIENT & MODERN

By David B. Hart. New Criterion, March 2004, pp. 5-18.

Hart argues that the United States is saturated in religion as no other developed nation is. He writes, "And this is why I say Americans are 'ancients:' not simply because, throughout the breadth of their continental empire, as in the world of late antiquity, there exists a vague civic piety ramifying into a vast diversity of religious expressions, even of the most mysterious and disturbing kind; but because here there are those to whom the god - or rather God or his angel - still appears. That sort of religion is immune to disillusion, as it has never coalesced into an 'illusion;' it moves at the level of vision. In a country where such things are possible, and even somewhat ordinary, the future cannot be predicted with any certitude."

5. RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

By Martha Nussbaum. *Foreign Policy*, September/October 2004, pp. 44-45.

The article discusses the dangers of religious intolerance. Intolerance breeds intolerance, as expressions of hatred fuel existing insecurities and permit people to see their own aggression as legitimate self-defense. Two ideas typically foster religious intolerance and disrespect. The first is that one's own religion is the only true religion and that other religions are false or morally incorrect. But people possessed of this view can also believe that others deserve respect for their committed beliefs, so long as they do no harm. Much more dangerous is the second idea, that the state and private citizens should coerce people into adhering to the "correct" religious approach. The resurgence of this kind of thinking poses a profound threat to liberal societies, which are based on ideas of liberty and equality. Modern liberal societies have long understood the importance of legal and constitutional norms expressing a commitment to religious liberty and to the equality of citizens of different religions. We need to think harder about how rhetoric (as well as poetry, music, and art) can support pluralism and toleration.

6. THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE ORIGINS AND ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

By Charles Hirschman. *International Migration Review*, Fall 2004, pp. 1206-1233.

The classical model of the role of religion in the lives of immigrants to the United States, formulated in the writings of Will Herberg and Oscar Handlin, emphasized cultural continuity and the psychological benefits of religious faith following the trauma of immigration. Although this perspective captures an important reason for the centrality of religion in most immigrant communities (but not for all immigrants), the classical model does not address the equally important socioeconomic role of churches, synagogues, temples, and mosques in American society. The creation of an immigrant church or temple often provided ethnic communities with refuge from the hostility and discrimination from the broader society as well as opportunities for economic mobility and social recognition. In turn, the successive waves of immigrants have probably shaped the character as well as the content of American religious institutions.

7. SCIENCE AND RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM IN THE 1920S

By Edward B. Davis. *American Scientist*, May/June 2005, pp. 253-260.

Davis details how the religious pamphlets by leading scientists of the Scopes era provide insight into public debates about science and religion. "Although debate has focused on our nation's constitutional disestablishment of religion, the underlying issues are far broader. How is science related to religion and morality? Can scientists and religious authorities cooperate in educating the public about the content and limits of scientific knowledge, or are they separated by contrary views of what knowledge is? What are the role and responsibility of religious scientists in such conversations?" Other aspects discussed are: origin of fundamentalism; role of science in religious society; and challenges in the reconciliation of scientific knowledge with religious faith.

8. SOCIAL WORK AND THE HOUSE OF ISLAM: ORIENTING PRACTITIONERS TO THE BELIEFS AND VALUES OF MUSLIMS IN THE UNITED STATES

By David R. Hodge. *Social Work*, April 2005, pp. 162-173.

Hodge writes, "Despite the media attention focused on the Islamic community after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, Muslims remain one of the most misunderstood populations in the United States. Few articles have appeared in the social work literature orienting practitioners to the Islamic community, and much of the mainstream media coverage misrepresents the population." This article reviews the basic beliefs, practices, and values that commonly characterize, or inform, the House of Islam in the United States. The organizations that embody and sustain the Muslim communities that constitute the House of Islam are profiled, and areas of possible value conflicts are examined. The article concludes by offering suggestions for integrating the article's themes into practice settings. Particular attention is given to enhancing cultural competence and to suggestions for spiritual assessment and interventions.

9. TEACHING RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY THROUGH CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

By Connie Green and Sandra B. Oldendorf. *Childhood Education*, Summer 2005, pp. 209-218.

Green and Oldendorf take a look at teaching religious diversity through children's literature. Here, they give a historical perspective on religious diversity in the U.S., develop a rationale for teachers and children to learn about religious pluralism, and provide basic infor-

mation, resources for teachers, and appropriate children's literature about major religious groups, among others. The purposes of this article are to give a historical perspective on religious diversity in the United States; develop a rationale for teachers and children to learn about religious pluralism; provide basic information, resources for teachers, and appropriate children's literature about major religious groups; and explore developmentally appropriate and unobjectionable ways of introducing children to traditions and practices of various faiths through children's literature. An important way for children to develop and preserve their own cultural identity and belief system is through learning about other cultures and their religions.

10. TOLERANCE, LIBERALISM AND THE PROBLEM OF BOUNDARIES

By Adam B. Seligman. *Society*, January/February 2004, pp. 12-16.

The author discusses the issues of tolerance, liberalism and the problem of boundaries in religion. He provides explanations of toleration as an "impossible virtue"; forms of the denial of difference; and liberal foundation for tolerance. Seligman makes the argument for tolerance, as indeed a minimalist position, though for all that, not easily attained. In addition, he claims that what passes for tolerance (let alone the more robust virtues) in contemporary modern societies is often not tolerance at all, but rather some mixture of indifference, realpolitik and the denial of difference (that is the denial that there is really something else, other, different and thus perhaps threatening that one must engage with in a tolerant manner).

BUSINESS & ECONOMICS

11. CORPORATE GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By Troy A. Paredes. *Regulation* Spring 2005, pp. 34-39.

Paredes, associate professor of law at Washington University, says U.S.-style corporate governance, which is a market-oriented model, may be a poor fit for the developing world. In the U.S., shareholders are protected by nonlegal mechanisms such as contracts, market forces, and norms of good practice that directors and officers follow, he explains. This market-oriented approach encourages innovation, entrepreneurship, and risk-taking – but its success depends on several preconditions – such as an effective, sophisticated judicial system, in-depth experience and understanding of private ordering,

and a predictable future, states Paredes. Developing countries lack these preconditions, he writes, therefore a system of more stringent mandatory corporate law is the better option, because clear shareholder protections are needed to encourage investment, the development of capital markets, and, ultimately, economic growth.

12. CORPORATE GOVERNANCE AND SOCIETY

By Sanford Jacoby. *Challenge*, July-August 2005, pp. 69-87.

"These days, Americans seem to take their corporate governance model for granted. Shareholder interests are now all that matters. But the author traces the history of corporate governance to show that such models change over time. And they are different in other nations, such as Japan. In his view, American-style corporate governance has resulted in wage inequality and poor management. And financial reforms, despite the recent major scandals, have not gone far enough. So, what exactly is corporate governance? It comprises the laws and practices by which managers are held accountable to those who have a legitimate stake in the corporation," the author writes. The author traces the history of American corporate governance and its changes over the years. Comparing it to that of other nations such as Japan, the author concludes that American corporate governance still has room to improve.

13. GROWTH, INEQUALITY AND POVERTY: SOME HARD QUESTIONS

By Ravi Kanbur. *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2005, pp. 223-232.

This commentary poses a series of progressively harder questions in the economic analysis of growth, inequality and poverty. Starting with relatively straightforward analysis of the relationship between growth and inequality, the first level of hard questions comes when people ask which policies and institutions are causally related to equitable growth. Some progress is being made here by the economics literature, but relatively little is known about the second-level, harder questions—how a society comes to acquire "good" policies and institutions, and what exactly it is that countries are buying into when they accept the number-one Millennium Development Goal of the United Nations -- halving the incidence of income poverty by the year 2015.

14. STRATEGIES THAT FIT EMERGING MARKETS

By Tarun Khanna, et al. *Harvard Business Review*, June 2005, pp. 63-76.

The article discusses institutional voids in emerging markets such as Brazil, Russia, India, and China, and how to work around them. Although composite indices are useful, companies need to develop globalization strategies that meet the requirements of each developing country's market infrastructure. To tailor strategies to the five contexts framework will help executives map the institutional contexts for any country. Companies can capitalize on the strengths of various areas by analyzing the political and social systems, openness, labor markets, capital markets, and product markets. Multinationals can then decide whether to adapt their business models while keeping their core value propositions constant, try to change the contexts in which they operate, or stay out of the countries where adapting would be impractical. An example is given to explain how companies can generate synergies by treating various markets as part of a system. **INSETS:** *Mapping Contexts in Brazil, Russia, India, and China;* and *Spotting Institutional Voids.*

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS & SECURITY

15. THE ETHICS OF REALISM

By John C. Hulsman and Anatol Lieven. *National Interest*, Summer 2005, pp. 37-43.

Hulsman and Lieven discuss the relation between morality and the business of foreign policy. Morality in U.S. foreign policy has long been associated by Americans not only with the means employed by the U.S., but also with the goal of spreading democracy, however, in the years since 9/11, both neoconservatives and Democrat hawks have sought to make specific moral notion the central element of American foreign policy, particularly in the case of the Muslim world.

16. FIGHTING THE ILLICIT TRAFFICKING OF SMALL ARMS

By Rachel J. Stohl. *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 2005, pp. 59-68.

The author notes that illicit trafficking in small arms is a transnational phenomenon. Terrorist groups are dealing in small arms on a global scale, and combating this trade is critical to the U.S. campaign against extremism. Stohl writes that the line is often blurred between

the legitimate and illicit trade in small arms, aided by the lack of strict international controls; she also points out that the profits from illegal exploitation of resources such as timber, drugs and diamonds in developing countries perpetuates conflicts and corruption. Arms brokers operate freely because they are able to circumvent national arms controls and international arms embargoes or to obtain official protection. Stohl argues that policing the illicit trafficking in small arms cannot be done in a vacuum or by the United States unilaterally. Other countries must also develop stronger controls over the legal sales and illicit trade of small arms.

17. GIVING JUSTICE ITS DUE

By George Perkovich. *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2005, pp. 79-93.

Besides the spread of freedom, the main objective of U.S. foreign policy should include the pursuit of justice as well. The author asserts that broadening the focus would not only befit the United States' political tradition, but also help neutralize opposition from radical Islamists and critics of globalization. With its ringing invocation of "the force of freedom," President George W. Bush's second inaugural address exemplified and updated the long-standing American belief that liberty is an intrinsic human good and that its promotion will enhance the nation's security and prosperity. Critics who scoffed at Bush's attempt to put ethics at the heart of U.S. foreign policy were misguided, because such considerations have been a crucial part of policy debates since the country's founding. What they should have criticized instead was Bush's narrow focus on one particular principle, political freedom, in isolation from other components of the American creed. After all, the Pledge of Allegiance promises not only liberty, but justice as well. Unfortunately, the elision of the notion of justice from the president's speech matches its elision from his foreign policy, with the result that in recent years, U.S. diplomacy -- public and private -- has been limping along on one leg and stumbling.

18. IN SEARCH OF PRO-AMERICANISM

By Anne Applebaum. *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2005, pp. 32-40.

"It has never been more popular to be anti-American, but there are some who have chosen not to get on the bandwagon. The author points out where America is still admired, and why," writes Applebaum. He explains areas of the world still considered to be pro-American despite the prevalence of anti-Americanism in world.

Other issues discussed include: statistics related to unfavorable opinions of American and American policies in Europe; global attitudes towards Americans and American policies following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001; comparison of data showing more support for American policies among older generations of foreign countries, such as in Poland; review of data showing that men in Europe, Asia and South America are more likely to have a favorable opinion of the United States.

19. PREEMPTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICA'S STRATEGIC DEFENSE

By Harry S. Laver. *Parameters*, Summer 2005, pp. 107-120.

Laver, military historian at Southeastern Louisiana University, analyzes the evolution of U.S. strategic defense policy, contending that the events of 9/11 signaled a paradigm shift in strategic planning similar to that ushered in by the dropping of the atomic bombs in August 1945. He describes how U.S. defense policy evolved as successive post-World War II administrations undertook to contain communism. Eisenhower, for example, built up the nuclear arsenal, Nixon emphasized diplomacy, and Reagan reversed the "perceived strategic anemia" of Carter. Sept. 11 added a new dimension to defense strategy, requiring new ways of thinking and a greater use of covert operations and special forces, notes Laver. He presents various viewpoints about preemptive and preventive war and the 2002 National Security Strategy. Laver points out that the U.S. will not succeed in the war against terrorism through military superiority; he argues that our defense doctrine must include "more sophisticated and nuanced diplomatic initiatives and humanitarian programs to reduce the underlying sources of terrorist motivation and recruitment."

20. THE UNITED NATIONS' CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY

By Mark D. Alleyne. *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 2005, pp. 175-185.

The participation of celebrities in international diplomacy is not a new phenomenon, according to the author. Secretary General Kofi Annan's recruitment of predominantly American celebrities as 'UN Messengers of Peace,' is the most visible part of the organization's efforts to maintain its international credibility. The author argues, however, that this celebrity diplomacy does little to address worldwide skepticism and increasing levels of hostility regarding the UN's global role and functions.

DEMOCRACY & HUMAN RIGHTS

21. A CHURCH-STATE SOLUTION

By Noah Feldman. *New York Times Magazine*, July 3, 2005, pp. 28-33, 50-53.

Feldman, professor at New York University School of Law and a fellow at the New America Foundation, notes that the cultural divide in the U.S. today boils down to the inability of two opposing camps to accept the American rules for religious expression in public life, and public funds in religious life. He terms those who believe that religious expression should be central in politics and schools "values evangelicals", and those who view religion as a purely personal choice, and who believe that public values derived from religion as divisive "legal secularists". Feldman offers a mirror-image proposal to ameliorate the intractable debate: that greater latitude be offered for religious expression and symbols in public, and that a stricter ban be imposed on expenditure of public funds on religious activities, such as parochial schools. He believes that such a solution would acknowledge religious values and respect the separation of religion and government as a common American value, while avoiding favoritism and competition between religious groups over how limited public funds will be spent.

22. THE DEMOCRAT ARMED

By Kurt M. Campbell and Michael E. O'Hanlon. *National Interest*, Summer 2005, pp. 93-101.

How can the Democratic Party win the 2006 and 2008 elections? The authors think the Democratic Party must reestablish its national security bona fides among key constituencies if it hopes to win back the White House or Congress. According to them, "The recent election made clear, however, that there is profound anxiety over how Democrats generally manage issues of war and peace. Party leaders' instincts were wrong. Americans did not want the politics of anti-war protest. They wanted a leader who convinced them he had a better plan for the course of the nation at a crucial moment in its history."

23. PEOPLE POWER PRIMED: CIVILIAN RESISTANCE AND DEMOCRATIZATION

By Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall. *Harvard International Review*, Summer 2005, pp. 42-47.

The authors explore the history and growing expression of mass public protest in deposing rulers, pointing out that "people power" succeeds when participants agree on short- and long-term goals, and that a firmly rooted, non-violent movement can lead to a more consolidated democracy.

24. YOU SAY YOU WANT A REVOLUTION

By Jonathan Rauch. *National Journal*, July 30, 2005, pp. 2438-2443.

Both conservative and liberal partisans view the retirement of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor as a turning point for the Supreme Court. Opinion columnist Jonathan Rauch writes, however, that the new era of aggressive conservative jurisprudence expected by both sides is unlikely to materialize. Previous large turnovers of justices in the early 1970s and 1990s did not result in a revolution for either side. Rauch notes that legally, incremental change is likelier than revolution and continuity is likelier than reversal. He writes that as long as the Supreme Court sees precedent as the touchstone of legal and social stability, it will be reluctant to make dramatic changes to established law. The results of the judicial revolution hoped for by some activists and feared by others are not as certain as both sides assume, Rauch states.

COMMUNICATION & INFORMATION

25. THE BIRTH OF GOOGLE

By John Battelle. *Wired*, August 2005, pp. 1-4.

On first meeting, Larry Page and Sergey Brin disliked one another. Yet within a year their partnership spawned Google, arguably the world's most popular search engine. At Stanford University, Page devised a crawler, originally called BackRub, tracing the path of links back from web pages. Collaborating with fellow graduate student

Brin, he went on to develop PageRank, an algorithm assigning a higher ranking to more "important" pages. With PageRank, BackRub yielded superior results to existing search engines based largely on keywords. Google was not born without a struggle, however. Both young men experienced some doubts, while coincidentally discovering how much power a growing search engine drains from a computer network. At one point, BackRub was consuming nearly half of Stanford's entire bandwidth, often bringing the university's Internet connection to a standstill. Thanks to some improvisation, and a "forward-looking" environment at Stanford, Google became a hit.

26. THE DOTCOM KING AND THE ROOFTOP SOLAR REVOLUTION

By Spencer Reiss. *Wired*, July 2005, pp. 136-151.

Most of the entrepreneurs of the Internet boom of the 1990s have moved on to other things, but Bill Gross, founder of Idealab, the Pasadena, California-based high-tech incubator, is still going strong. Idealab's latest innovation: a low-cost, downsized, lightweight, rooftop-mountable solar concentrator, consisting of a field of movable mirrors in a two-metre-square frame, that focus sunlight on an elevated silicon wafer, generating electric power at double the efficiency of flat photovoltaic panels. Several prototypes are being subjected to accelerated-aging tests, to see how the sophisticated machinery and electronics hold up to the elements, and the first shipment of 1000 units from a low-cost offshore manufacturer will be delivered in the fall. Solar energy has the greatest potential to revolutionize how mankind obtains energy, notes the author, but it has also been the most challenging to harness. The solar industry's long-term strategy is to maintain government financial incentives for users to obtain solar equipment to keep it competitive with coal, gas and nuclear power; as technological improvements and large-scale manufacturing lower the costs, the author predicts that the market for solar "will explode."

27. WIRED TO EAT

By David E. Duncan. *Technology Review*, July 2005, pp. 52-59.

Jeffrey Friedman is an obesity researcher and leader of a team from Rockefeller University in New York that is studying 7,600 residents on the island of Kosrae, 4,670 kilometers south of Hawaii. Since 1994, the team has been studying the eighty percent of Kosrae adults who are overweight or obese, to test the hypothesis that genes rather than willpower control the impulse to eat. Until the United States took control of Kosrae and the rest of Micronesia after World War II

and began shipping in canned and processed foods, the people were predominantly lean. Twelve percent of the islanders have diabetes, compared with 8 percent in the United States. The researchers are using gene chips to scan the islanders' genomes for genetic variations called single-nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) to see if these can be associated with differences in susceptibility to diseases such as obesity or diabetes. Friedman believes a dominant factor in controlling weight is a circuit in the hypothalamus at the base of the brain, where two types of brain cells -- NPY, which stimulates hunger, and POMC, which inhibits hunger -- seem to be the chief regulators of appetite. According to Friedman, people have a "set point" of hunger and satiation inherited from their ancestors and are driven to eat until they reach it. "We have some control over eating from our reasoning centers of our brain," Friedman says, "but this seldom overrides our basic instinct to eat when we're hungry."

GLOBAL ISSUES

28. CAN WE BURY GLOBAL WARMING?

By Robert H. Socolow. *Scientific American*, July 2005, pp. 49-55.

The carbon dioxide (CO₂) levels in the atmosphere are rising and the atmosphere is warming, but scientists do not know the long-term effects of these changes. Several strategies for reducing man-made CO₂ emissions include using energy more efficiently, shifting from fossil fuels to nuclear or noncarbon renewable sources, and capturing CO₂ to store underground. Socolow explains the methods of CO₂ capture-and-storage that could be adopted by coal-burning power plants, which contribute one quarter of the world's CO₂ emissions. Industrial plants producing hydrogen or purifying natural gas generate concentrated streams of CO₂, and such facilities are considering capture-and-storage as well. Researchers are exploring storage in sedimentary rock formations deep underground, in former oil fields, or even in the oceans. A natural gas processing plant in Algeria is storing captured CO₂ in an underground brine field. Socolow expects the next few years to be critical as governments consider policies affecting the development of capture-and-storage as a mechanism to reduce global warming from CO₂ emissions. The author is professor of mechanical and aerospace engineering at Princeton University and investigator with the university's Carbon Mitigation Initiative.

29. THE STATE OF NATURE

By Carl Pope and Bjorn Lomborg. *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2005, pp. 66-73.

Not even committed environmentalists can agree on the state of the planet. Some see the world in great danger of polar caps melting, clean water scarcity, and diminishing ecosystems. Others believe the world, as well as the state of humanity, has never looked better. Who's got it right?

U.S. SOCIETY, VALUES & POLITICS

30. ALL IN THE FAMILY

By Victoria Looseleaf. *Dance Magazine*, July 2005, pp. 42-44.

The author profiles Joseph and Josette Wiggan, an Afro-American brother/sister tap-dancing duo, have been performing together for ten years. Joseph, 19, and Josette, 22, are enrolled in college during the academic year, they dance together professionally during the summer. Both will continue to perform as a team after they graduate; Josette is also working with a group to end modern-day slavery around the world, and Joseph is preparing to manage a dance company.

31. GRANT WOOD'S FAMILY ALBUM

By Sue Taylor. *American Art*, Summer 2005, pp. 49-66.

Iowan artist Grant Wood is best known for his painting *American Gothic*, depicting a man with a pitchfork standing next to a younger woman. The woman was his beloved sister, Nan Wood Graham, and the man, Byron McKeeby, was his dentist. The article provides an overview of Wood's works and his life story, dealing mainly with his childhood. The author sees the woman in his most famous painting as a stand-in for his mother, Hattie, and the man as a stand-in for his father, Francis Maryville Wood, who died when the artist-to-be was 10. The author says that "although not portrait likenesses, the immediately familiar Midwestern figures are parental images; as such, they evoke universal, even primal responses, typically covered over by the spirited humor of the picture's myriad, mocking iterations."

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

32. AVIAN FLU: A STATE OF UNREADINESS

By Mike Davis. Nation, July 18, 2005, pp. 27-30.

Presents the author's view on global preparation for a potential outbreak of avian influenza. Risks posed by the disease, which appears to be a wild flu strain totally new to the human immune system; Discussion of an avian flu subtype known as H5N1; View that H5N1 is on the verge of acquiring the new genes or amino acids that would enable it to travel at pandemic velocity across a densely urbanized world; Statistics released by the World Health Organization calming the disease has the potential to cause twenty-million deaths worldwide; Suggestion that all recent reports point to the likelihood of a global pandemic; Discussion of efforts made by members of the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush to protect against avian flu; View that these efforts have not been nearly enough to protect the country from a potential outbreak.

33. SOLAR POWER, LAKOTA EMPOWERMENT

By Gary Wockener. World Watch, July/August 2005, pp. 11-17.

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota is home to the Oglala Lakota Native Americans. The Lakota have high rates of unemployment, poverty and chronic illness, and many houses are in disrepair. The Colorado-based environmental organization Trees, Water & People (TWP) met with Lakota leaders in 2002 seeking their input to develop a program suitable for the reservation. Learning that some residents spend up to 50 percent of their income for heat, TWP proposed a solar heating program. TWP staff and high school and college students from reservation schools build and install low-tech, low-cost solar panel systems on homes to provide daytime heat. While improving living conditions for the recipients of the panels, both TWP and some Pine Ridge residents believe sustainable solar power will reinforce the Lakota people's traditional connection to nature and the land. The author is an environmental writer and research ecologist at Colorado State University.

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